

Schneider

Argentina

7/27

Please call me on this. Mr. Todman wishes to move forward with his views to the Secretary without delay. I have, however, re-written p. 2 to reflect Mr. Deane's message of last night.

RLty

URGENT

X 21245
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Brazil

Whether to include a stop in Argentina when you visit Brazil in October.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

I believe it is important to take advantage of your planned October 28-29 visit to Brazil to make a brief stop in Argentina also. A Buenos Aires visit would provide the best possible means for underscoring our interest in forward Argentine movement both on nuclear non-proliferation issues and human rights.

The moment is right for you to encourage Argentina, Latin America's most advanced nuclear state, to accept full safeguards and sign the Treaty of Tlatelolco. We believe some Argentine move in this direction is necessary if we are to have any success in our renewed approaches to the Brazilians.

The first visit of an American Secretary of State to Argentina in several years could also be used to emphasize our interest in a return to the rule of law in that country. You would not only convey this message clearly -- and first hand -- to President Videla, Foreign Minister Montes and other Executive Branch figures, but meetings with the Supreme Court would encourage strengthening of judicial institutions, an important objective in the promotion of effective guarantees. Meetings with independent journalists and Jewish leaders would also be useful.

D/HA and, to a lesser extent, S/P are concerned that a visit to Argentina, a serious human rights violator, might be seen as a State Department attempt to offset the thrust of Mrs. Carter's trip and to reassure the hard-line military

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ACTION MEMORANDUM

S/S

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TO: The Secretary
THROUGH: P - Mr. Habib
FROM: ARA - Terence A. Todman

Inclusion of Argentina in Your October Trip to Brazil

ISSUE FOR DECISION

Whether to include a stop in Argentina when you visit Brazil in October.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

I believe it is important to take advantage of your planned October 28-29 visit to Brazil to make a brief stop in Argentina also. A Buenos Aires visit would provide the best possible means for underscoring our interest in forward Argentine movement both on nuclear non-proliferation issues and human rights.

The moment is right for you to encourage Argentina, Latin America's most advanced nuclear state, to accept full safeguards and sign the Treaty of Tlatelolco. We believe some Argentine move in this direction is necessary if we are to have any success in our renewed approaches to the Brazilians.

The first visit of an American Secretary of State to Argentina in several years could also be used to emphasize our interest in a return to the rule of law in that country. You would not only convey this message clearly -- and first hand -- to President Videla, Foreign Minister Montes and other Executive Branch figures, but meetings with the Supreme Court would encourage strengthening of judicial institutions, an important objective in the promotion of effective guarantees. Meetings with independent journalists and Jewish leaders would also be useful.

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establishments. To avoid any appearance of supporting military dictatorships that suppress political freedoms and violate basic human rights, D/HA prefers that you avoid a trip to Argentina while a ~~xxx~~ situation characterized by flagrant abuses continues.

Further, I understand that Patt Derian ^{feels} believes a decision on an Argentina visit should be deferred pending the results of her own upcoming ^{trip} ~~trip~~ to Argentina and other Latin American countries, and that she has recently spoken with you on this. [She may wish to provide ~~her own separate~~ separate D/HA comments on this memorandum.]

While, I recognize the ^{substantive} concerns expressed by D/HA and S/P, I remain convinced that we should not skirt Argentina because it is a human rights problem area. Rather we should make of your visit an unmistakable signal of the importance the U.S. ascribes to improvements in the Argentine situation. ~~Further, I believe that a decision on this basic question should not be further~~ And, I believe that a decision on this basic question should not be further delayed.

Recommendation:

That you authorize us to begin arrangements for a visit to Argentina in conjunction with your trip to Brazil, tentatively planning on October 30-31.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Concurrences

S/P: R. Frenkel (draft)

D/HA: M. Schneider (draft - from 5-4-1)

NADA II

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS) SOPN, SHUM, AR, MNUC, PARM
SUBJECT: ARGENTINE REACTION TO VANCE TRIP

REF: (A) BA 8893 (B) BA 8958 (C) BA 9074

SUMMARY: ARGENTINES IN GENERAL CONSIDERED THE VANCE
VISIT A TACTICAL SUCCESS FOR ARGENTINA AND A STEP
TOWARD IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. ALTHOUGH
MANY OBSERVERS SAW IN THE JOINT U.S.-ARGENTINE
COMMUNIQUE AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH IN MUTUAL
UNDERSTANDING WITH CONCESSIONS ON THE PART OF BOTH
COUNTRIES IN THE TWO CRUCIAL AREAS OF NUCLEAR MEDIA
DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS, SOME ARGENTINE MEDIA
CRITICIZED THE GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO
RATIFY TLATELOLCO AS A GIVE-AWAY TO THE U.S. FOR

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NOTHING IN RETURN. SUBSEQUENT MISINTERPRETATIONS AND
EXAGGERATIONS OF POINTS MADE IN COMMUNIQUE RESULTED IN
MEDIA SUGGESTIONS THAT U.S. HAD COMMITTED ITSELF TO SUPPLYING
HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY, TO SUPPORT ARGENTINA ON THE MALVINAS

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DISPUTE WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND TO CONSIDER TERRORISM AS RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

1. DESPITE A FEW NAGGING DOUBTS, ARGENTINES IN GENERAL--AND THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT, IN PARTICULAR--VIEWED THE VANCE VISIT AS A TACTICAL SUCCESS FOR ARGENTINA AND A GREAT STEP TOWARD IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. PRESS COVERAGE OF THE VISIT WAS LARGELY POSITIVE, DISCUSSIONS WITH THE VANCE TEAM WERE AMIABLE AND THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE HAD SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY (INCLUDING A NUMBER OF POINTS WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBSEQUENTLY EXAGGERATED AND MISINTERPRETED BY THE LOCAL PRESS).

2. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT WAS MOST CONCERNED TO PORTRAY THE VISIT AS A TURNING POINT FOR ITS DETERIORATED RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON. PRESS REPORTS SPOKE OF A "NEW DIALOGUE" (ONE PHRASED IT A "NEW LANGUAGE") AND SAID VANCE'S VISIT--AT THE EXPRESS WISH OF PRESIDENT CARTER--MADE POSSIBLE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND A MORE REALISTIC ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. TOWARD ARGENTINA. LA OPINION (NOVEMBER 23) LISTED ARGENTINA'S "GAINS" IN THE AREAS OF TRADE (THE U.S. WILL CONSIDER ARGENTINE COMPLAINTS ABOUT ITS UNFAVORABLE BALANCE OF TRADE WITH THE U.S.), NUCLEAR ENERGY (THE U.S. RECOGNIZES ARGENTINA'S NEED FOR HEAVY WATER AND ITS STATUS AS A POTENTIAL EXPORTER OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY) AND HUMAN RIGHTS (THE U.S. ACCEPTED ARGENTINA'S POSITION ON TERRORISM AS A FACET OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM AND ON THE NEED TO DEVELOP JOINT INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST TERRORISM). THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD PRAISED THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AS BEING PRECISELY WORDED AND POSITIVE AND CITED PARTICULARLY THE TWO COUNTRIES' AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR ENERGY ("IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT

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BRAZIL WILL SHARE THE VIEW OF ARGENTINA, THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE THAT MAKING LATIN AMERICA AN AREA FREE OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS WILL NOT HANDICAP TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES IN THE PEACEFUL USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY") AND THEIR ENDORSEMENT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND HEMISPHERIC EFFORTS TO EXTERMINATE TERRORISM. THE SECRETARY WAS QUOTED AS SAYING HE WAS "VERY SATISFIED" WITH HIS VISIT AND IMPRESSED BY THE "PRACTICAL AND COOPERATIVE SPIRIT" SHOWN BY ARGENTINE OFFICIALS. ASSISTANT SECRETARIES DERIAN AND TODMAN REPORTEDLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION SHOWED IMPROVEMENT.

3. THE GLOW OF THE VANCE VISIT RADIATED PARTICULARLY FROM SEVERAL ARGENTINE OFFICIALS CONNECTED TO THE TRIP: ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON AJA ESPIL CONFIDED TO AMBASSADOR

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CASTRO SHORTLY AFTER VANCE'S DEPARTURE THAT HE WOULD REMAIN IN BUENOS AIRES SEVERAL MORE DAYS TO "REAP THE HAPPY BENEFITS OF THE VANCE VISIT". FOREIGN MINISTRY HUMAN RIGHTS SPOKESMAN JUAN CARLOS ARLIA WAS QUOTED IN SOMOS MAGAZINE (NOVEMBER 25) AS SAYING HE HAD NEVER SEEN "A MORE SUBSTANTIAL COMMUNIQUE" IN HIS 22 YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

4. THE OFFICIAL PLEASURE WITH THE VANCE VISIT WAS MARRED CONSIDERABLY BY MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS INTRUSION OF CONFUSION OVER THE "LIST OF 7,500" AND ANGER AT FOREIGN JOURNALISTS UNCOMPLIMENTARY REPORTS ON ARGENTINA AND THE TRIP'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS. (SEE BA 8893 AND BA 8958.) THE ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTRY STRENUOUSLY DENIED IT RECEIVED BY VANCE'S HAND A LIST OF 7,500 MISSING AND DETAINED PERSONS AS WAS REPORTED IN THE FOREIGN AND LOCAL PRESS, AND INSTRUCTED ITS EMBASSIES TO DENY-- BY PAID ADVERTISEMENTS, IF NECESSARY--SUCH REPORTS ABROAD. AMBASSADOR CASTRO CLEARLY EXPLAINED AT HIS NOVEMBER 29 PRESS CONFERENCE THE CONFECTION AND UNOFFICIAL NATURE OF THE LIST AND ITS DELIVERY DATE BY DIPLOMATIC NOTE AFTER VANCE'S DEPARTURE (SEE BA 9074) AND FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES SUBSEQUENTLY (DECEMBER 1) ACKNOWLEDGED RECEIVING THE LIST AS A "GESTURE OF
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COOPERATION" OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

5. DESPITE GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO SHOW THE VISIT AS AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS, NEGATIVE REACTIONS TO THE VIST WERE EXPRESSED PRIVATELY BY SOME MILITARY OFFICIALS AND PUBLICLY IN NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE COLUMNS. THE AIR FORCE REPORTEDLY REFUSED TO ATTEND THE AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION FOR THE SECRETARY IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE ITS DISPLEASURE OF THE INVITATION TO THAT EVENT OF A NUMBER OF DISCREDITED POLITICIANS AND LABOR LEADERS. (NEITHER THE AIR FORCE NOR THE NAVY CHIEFS OF STAFF ATTENDED THE RECEPTION,

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OMB-01 TRSE-00 NRC-05 ACDA-12 FEA-01 MCT-01 /111 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3513
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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ALTHOUGH THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF SENT A BRIGADIER GENERAL AS HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE.)

6. A NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLICLY QUESTIONED WHETHER ARGENTINA HAD GIVEN UP TOO MUCH AND GOTTEN NOTHING IN RETURN. THESE PAPERS EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT ARGENTINA HAD APPARENTLY CHANGED ITS POSITION BY AGREEING TO RATIFY THE TLATELOLCO TREATY AND OTHERS DECLEARED THAT VANCE'S SINGLE ACCOMPLISHMENT ON HIS LATIN AMERICAN SWING WAS GETTING THE ARGENTINE COMMITMENT ON TLATELOLCO WITHOUT CEDING ANYTHING TO THE ARGENTINES. CORREO DE LA SEMANA--WHICH HAS BEEN CLOSED DOWN TWICE IN THE PAST MONTH FOR IRRITATING THE GOVERNMENT--SAID THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE DESERVED TO KNOW WHY ARGENTINA HAD SO SUDDENLY CHANGED ITS POSITION IN DECIDING TO RATIFY TLATELOLCO AND TO ENDORSE THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (WHICH HAD FORMERLY BEEN CRITICIZED FOR MEDDLING IN COUNTRIES' INTERNAL

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AFFAIRS) AND WHAT ARGENTINA GOT IN RETURN. "SECRETARY VANCE CAME WITH THE BROADEST OF SMILES BUT HE SHOWED BY HIS COMMENTS ON A FUTURE POLITICAL OPENING AND HUMAN RIGHTS THAT HE STILL DOESN'T UNDERSTAND OUR NATIONAL SITUATION," CORREO DE LA SEMANA WROTE. "WE WILL RESOLVE OUR OWN PROBLEMS IN OUR OWN WAY AND WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDER'S ADVICE." FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER NICANOR COSTA MENDEZ WRITING IN SOMOS MAGAZINE NOVEMBER 25 CRITICIZED THE FAILURE TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF U.S.

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SANCTIONS AGAINST ARGENTINA, ASKING WHAT WAS THE USE OF THE VISIT IF RESUMPTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE WAS NOT DISCUSSED.

7. SEVERAL PAPERS TIED ARGENTINA'S AGREEMENT TO RATIFY TLATELOLCO TO WHAT VANCE WOULD ACCOMPLISH ON THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN BRAZIL. SOMOS WROTE THAT IF THE U.S. WAS' UNSUCCESSFUL IN PERSUADING BRAZIL TO ADHERE TO THE TREATY PROVISIONS, THE ARGENTINE GESTURE WOULD HAVE TO BE RE-EVALUATED. MERCADO (NOVEMBER 24) NOTED THAT IF BRAZIL ADOPTS THE SAME ATTITUDE ON NUCLEAR CONTROLS AS ARGENTINA, THE "THE PROBLEM IS SOLVED SINCE THE ONLY REASON THAT MIGHT FORCE US TO REVISE OUR ATTITUDE (ON THE TREATY) WOULD BE THE MOVE OF ANOTHER SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRY TOWARD THE POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR ARMS."

8. SEVERAL REPORTS READ INTO THE COMMUNIQUE SIGNIFICANTLY MORE THAN WAS INTENDED, I.E. AN IMPLIED U.S. COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE ARGENTINA

WITH THEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY, AND U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE ARGENTINE POSITION ON THE MALVINAS ISLANDS AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. A NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS (NOVEMBER 26-29) QUOTED STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN TRATTNER AS SAYING THAT VANCE HAD PROMISED "SUBSTANTIAL HELP" FOR ARGENTINA'S NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT. REPORTS ALSO CLAIMED THAT BY THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE THE U.S. HAD REVISED ITS POSITION ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE THE U.S. HAD REVISED ITS POSITION ON THE MALVINAS FROM ONE OF NEUTRALITY TO SUPPORT FOR

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ARGENTINA'S AIM TO RECOVER THE ISLANDS FROM GREAT BRITAIN'S POSSESSION. ASKED ABOUT THE MALVINAS AT HIS NOVEMBER 29 PRESS CONFERENCE, AMBASSADOR CASTRO SAID THE U.S. STILL TOOK NO STAND ON THIS ISSUE WHICH IS CONSIDERED TO BE A BILATERAL MATTER BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND GREAT BRITAIN. SOMOS (NOVEMBER 25) REPORTED THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN PERSUADED TO ACCEPT THE ARGENTINE VIEW OF TERRORISM'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DURING FOREIGN MINISTRY UNDER SECRETARY ALLARA'S TRIP TO WASHINGTON JUST BEFORE THE VANCE TRIP. ALLARA, THE REPORT CLAIMS, BROUGHT SUFFICIENT DOCUMENTATION OF THE EXISTENCE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN ARGENTINA TO CONVINCE U.S. SECURITY AUTHORITIES OF THE PROBLEM. SOMOS THEN CLAIMED THAT THE U.S., IN MENTIONING TERRORISM AS A VIOLATOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COMMUNIQUE, WAS ADMITTING THAT TERRORISM "IMPEDES THE FULL OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS".
CASTRO

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